

ago. Thus the intense vigor of archæologists in excavating the remains of antiquity is in imminent danger of leaving to following generations an imperfect heritage. The importance of making the most accurate and complete publications of discoveries is emphasized when we remember that many of the objects found will not remain long unchanged. In this matter is to be seen a much-needed lesson for Americans. The tombstones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New England graveyards are disintegrating now more rapidly than ever before, and many important family records are disappearing. When the reader thinks of the recognized necessity of covering the Egyptian granite of the obelisk in the Central Park with a slip of paraffine, in order to preserve it, he will need no long consideration to see that the marble, slate, and sandstone monuments of our graveyards need similar treatment if they are to be preserved. Many a town has old stones of which the citizens are proud now, but of which the inscriptions will become illegible if care is not soon taken. These stones are for the most part seldom seen, and so are out of mind, but some are near the crowded streets of our cities, and yet are neglected. This generation has obligations to its successors, and it will be blamed if it transmits to them only printed copies of the originals.

—Old Korea, like Britain with England, Wales, and Scotland, was a territory inside of which were three kingdoms. These had a long history of intestine struggle and border wars, with alternating invasions or succor from China or Japan. In the old books they are called Kaokuli, Silla (Silla), and Peksi (Pak-je), the first and most warlike being in the north, the second in the southeast, and the third in the west of the peninsula. Silla, cultivating commerce and the arts of civilization, carried on trade even with the Arabs, in whose books the kingdom and its products are described. China made Silla its ally, and in a great invasion, 660 A. D., Chinese armies overran the peninsula, overthrew a dynasty nearly 700 years old, and annexed Pak-je as a province of China. The victory was commemorated by uprearing a great stone ten feet high and seven feet wide, but the next year the son of the deposed Korean King raised the standard of revolt, and tumbled the big token of imperialism and conquest into the river which flowed past his father's capital. Four centuries later, during the great drought (1047-1084), the stone was exposed, and the people drew it to the bank, but did not set it up. Covered with the debris of eight centuries, it lay undisturbed until 1886, when Mr. Tong, then Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Seoul, and now Taotai of Tientsin, journeyed to Pu-yu and had excavations made at the spot indicated. After eighteen feet of earth had been removed, he struck and uncovered the prostrate stone. Clearing off the surface, he first took a careful rubbing, which is reproduced word for word in the *Korea Review* for May, 1902, and made preparations to remove the stone. Unfortunately, that night a terrible storm of wind and rain, which unroofed houses, swept away scores of dwellings, and caused loss of life by the river-flood, roused the superstitious fears of the people. Thinking the spirits were angry, they filled

up the pit. In substance, the text, after the usual fulsome compliments to the Chinese Emperor and his Generals, praises the "benevolent assimilation," and declares that the King, Crown Prince, thirteen Ministers, and 700 courtiers were carried to China, while five Chinese Generals or Military Governors were left to administer the seven districts (250 prefectures), which, according to the text, had a population of 6,100,000.

#### THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

*The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.* By A. Doughty, in collaboration with G. W. Parmelee. With plans, portraits, and views. Six volumes. Quebec: Dussault & Proulx. 1901. [1902.]

The six volumes of this work constitute the most extensive and important monograph which has so far been written in Canada on any episode in the country's annals. But the interest of the subject outstrips all bounds that are merely local. Montcalm's defeat and the English occupation of Quebec were great events in the history of the whole continent. In the world struggle between England and France they rank even before the battle of Plassey, and they adorn the last days of a hero with sudden, brilliant, and decisive triumph.

The campaign of 1759 has frequently been described, for the theme is a spirited one and there is no dearth of information. Of recent narratives the most valuable and the most typical are Parkman's in 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Casgrain's in 'Montcalm et Lévis,' and Kerallain's in 'La Jeunesse de Bougainville.' Parkman may be said to represent the English historian; Casgrain, the French Canadian; and Kerallain, the French. In comparing these three, it must be stated that the differences between the second and third are more pronounced than those between the first and second. Casgrain is a champion of Vaudreuil, Lévis, and the local militia. The strongest sympathies of Kerallain are with Montcalm, Bougainville, and the French of France.

Mr. Doughty, who is the chief author of the present work, has unquestionable advantages over all his predecessors in respect to his material. What others have collected, he can coördinate; but that is by no means all. His quest for new documents in foreign archives has been highly successful, and family papers, both French and English, have been put in his hands by descendants of the leading staff officers. It is obvious that such discoveries as can now be made must relate to details rather than to essentials, but the business of researchers consists in getting at the facts, even where critical issues are not concerned. We do not mean to imply that Mr. Doughty's investigations have led merely to the determination of minutiae. For example, he shows that the attack which settled the fate of Canada was planned by Wolfe, and not by his brigadiers; but the aim of the study is to settle a number of vexed questions rather than to upset views of the campaign and the battle which are generally accepted. We have spoken of the fresh evidence. It fills three large octavo volumes, and other volumes will be published at a later date in separate instalments. Most of the new data come from Eng-

land and France, but some striking illustrations of European interest in the war before Quebec have been drawn from the Private Archives of the Czar.

The main clue to the contents of this work has already been given in the statement that the documents, as opposed to the text, occupy three volumes. In other words, the first half of the space is devoted to narrative and the last half to *pièces justificatives*. Of the materials we shall not be able to speak at any length. Of the text, the first volume is devoted to biographies of Wolfe and Montcalm, the second to an account of the siege from its beginning until the first days of September, and the third to a careful and precise narrative of the battle, with its immediate consequences. Regarding the biographies we shall only say that they are genuine lives of the two generals, and not sketches of their time. The life of Montcalm, which has been furnished by the Hon. Thomas Chapais, is the most exhaustive biography of him that has yet been published in English, while Mr. Parmelee's life of Wolfe adds a good deal to the information supplied by Wright. The special value of the work, as an independent study of sources, arises from the quality of the second and third volumes. In commenting upon the text we shall therefore restrict our notice to them.

A number of moot points may be mentioned to show the range of the discussion. Some are antiquarian and some historical. As an instance of the first and least important class, we may recall a debate which has arisen over the exact scene of the battle. Two years ago hue and cry was raised in Canada (and in England, too) by a report that the Ursulines of Québec were about to sell for building purposes the famous Plains of Abraham. Partly in consequence of the sentiment thus aroused, the Dominion Government bought the property in September, 1901, and made it over to the city of Québec. Now the land represented by this purchase has nothing to do with the battle, and the Government knew it, though the public were under a wrong impression.

"The deeds of this transfer," says Mr. Doughty, "show that the purchase and preservation of this estate was not made upon the erroneous assumption that it formed part of the historic battlefield, though much of the indignation aroused, both at home and abroad, when it was learned that the land was to be divided up and sold for building lots, was due to the mistaken idea that it was the actual site of the conflict of September 13, 1759."

The originator of the popular mistake was Alfred Hawkins, whose 'Picture of Quebec with Historical Recollections' appeared in 1834. Mr. Doughty goes back to the unequivocal evidence of the early maps and descriptions, thereby correcting an error, equally complete and curious, which has for many years prevailed in Quebec itself.

The historical doubts involved are, however, considerably more important than those presented by topography. Several of them may be stated for illustration. Was the idea of scaling the heights conceived by Wolfe or by his brigadiers? In the disputes between Vaudreuil and Montcalm had the Governor or the General the juster cause? Was Bougainville guilty of heinous and fatal remissness on the night of September 12-13? Did Townshend seek unfairly to vilify Wolfe, and was he justified in signing the Act of Capitulation without first showing it to Monckton? Did Ramezay fall short

of his duty in surrendering Quebec? These are some of the questions which Mr. Doughty seeks to solve. His analysis of the operations about Beauport is also carefully studied; but the chief interest of his narrative centres around such disputed points as have just been indicated. Let us take up one or two of these, considering particularly Wolfe's relations with his brigadiers.

When Pitt was preparing for the campaign of 1759 in Canada, Wolfe desired a larger armament than could be given him, but as a concession he was allowed much latitude in the choice of his officers. Monckton and Murray, the first and the third of his brigadiers, enjoyed his confidence, and so did other leading officers, like Carleton and Barré. Townshend, on the contrary, was put forward by influence, and cannot be considered a general of Wolfe's own choice. From being second brigadier, he had great prominence in the campaign, and after the Battle of the Plains, where Wolfe was killed and Monckton wounded, he became the acting commander-in-chief. On the French side there was complicated discord. On the English side there was no discord which weakened the efficiency of the service; but a mutual dislike, perhaps distrust, destroyed real cordiality of intercourse between Wolfe and Townshend. As early as July, Wolfe snubbed Townshend sharply for inefficiency, and on September 6, a week before the battle, Townshend wrote to his wife: "Gen. Wolfe's health is but very bad. His generalship, in my poor opinion—is not a whit better; this only between us."

On the last day of July, Wolfe was repulsed with severe loss at Montmorency. On the 22d of August the physical frailty which he shared with Nelson, was increased by fever, and for a week he remained unable to take personal charge of the operations. It was then (August 29) that he asked the advice of his brigadiers regarding future movements. The attack below the city had failed, winter was coming on, and the General's illness rendered the situation critical. The brigadiers were not slow in expressing their opinion when it was thus asked. They advised against making any further attempts in the neighborhood of Beauport and Montmorency, and recommended an attack on the town from the northern side. The particular distance, however, is not named, and Parkman, with many other writers, has by this means been led into error. What the brigadiers had in mind was an attack to be delivered about twelve miles above the town, as may be gathered from their detailed plan of operations which seems to have been published for the first time in 1901 by Col. Townshend. Such a movement, it will be quickly seen, was something very different from the plan that was executed. Wolfe accepted this suggestion at first, and preparations were made accordingly. Then, after reconnoitring for himself, on September 10 he reached a totally different conclusion. Instead of going twelve miles above the town, where he would doubtless have been opposed by Bougainville, he decided upon trying a surprise and *coup de main*.

That Wolfe won his triumph by his own genius, aided by remarkable good fortune, is apparent in three ways—first, from a passage in the 'Journal of an Officer of Fraser's Regiment,' where it is stated that the General reconnoitred the north shore

above the town on July 18, in search for landing-places. He then thought the scheme practicable, and Major Dalling found two or three places where troops could be put ashore. Secondly, the arrangements which had been made early in September for going up the river were suddenly changed. Thirdly, Mr. Doughty has procured from the British Museum copies of letters which put Wolfe's responsibility for the enterprise in the clearest light. On the eve of the battle the three brigadiers sent a letter to the General, wherein they stated that they were in need of further information. "As we do not think ourselves sufficiently informed of the several parts which may fall to our share in the execution of the Descent you intend to-morrow, we must beg leave to request from you, as distinct Orders as the nature of the thing will admit of, particularly as to the place or places we are to attack." Wolfe replied in the last letters he ever wrote, the one to Monckton and the other to Townshend. The former communication, which is considerably the longer, contains some specific information about the landing and the arrangements for the advance. It then concludes: "I had the Honor to inform you to-day that it is my duty to attack the French Army. To the best of my knowledge and abilities I have fixed upon that spot where we can act with the most force, and are most likely to succeed. If I am mistaken, I am sorry for it, and must be answerable to his Majesty and the public for the consequences."

Mr. Doughty has outlined impartially, and we should think finally, Wolfe's part in the whole campaign. He has also produced the evidence which settles the most interesting single point in the strategy of the operations before Quebec. For the rest, he defends Bougainville from the charge of negligence which Parkman, among others, brings against him. He is much more friendly towards Montcalm than Casgrain is, and less friendly towards Vaudreuil. He vindicates Townshend from having sought to vilify Wolfe or rob him of his laurels. In the matter of the capitulation he is favorable to the action both of Townshend and of Ramezay. In each case there is cogent documentation, and Mr. Doughty is careful not to outrun his sources. Bougainville's case is perhaps the most notable. Parkman says: "When Bougainville saw Holmes's vessels drift down the stream, he did not tax his weary troops to follow them, thinking that they would return as usual with the flood tide." As a matter of fact, Bougainville was following strict orders which he had received from Vaudreuil and from Montcalm. He had been told to keep touch with Holmes's vessels and prevent a landing at Cap Rouge or higher up. In compliance with instructions he followed Holmes as far up as Pointe-aux-Trembles. He and his superiors were outgeneralled, but he was not guilty of leaving anything to chance.

If there were space, much might be said about the materials which have been collected and employed. As it is, we can hardly do more than state that they will be indispensable to every future historian of the Seven Years' War in America. Through the aid of important personages in three countries, Mr. Doughty has been able to procure copies of papers which must have remained beyond the reach of the ordinary investigator. The effort and expense of

bringing together all these documents would also in most cases have acted as a powerful deterrent. Besides additions made to the published correspondence of Wolfe, Townshend, and Bougainville, the cartography of the campaign has been largely supplemented by Mr. Doughty's discoveries. "Realizing the importance of studying every available account written by those who took part in the events narrated, the authors have obtained copies of twenty-three distinct relations of the siege, and seventeen plans of the battle of the Plains of Abraham, seven of which are in manuscript." Besides printing unknown and unpublished documents of great value, Mr. Doughty gives us an elaborate bibliography of the Siege of Quebec, divided into one section of books and pamphlets, and into another of manuscripts.

With the exception of careless proof-reading, the mechanical features of these volumes deserve high praise. The first three volumes are profusely illustrated with photogravures by Goupil and Hyatt, and with collotypes of good quality. The printing is excellent—the best, we should think, that has been done in Canada since the celebrated edition of Champlain. Altogether, Mr. Doughty and Mr. Parmelee have good reason to be pleased with the outcome of their long labors.

#### NOVELS, MOSTLY OF AMERICAN LIFE.

*The Lady Paramount.* By Henry Harland. New York: John Lane.

*The Kentons.* By W. D. Howells. Harper & Brothers.

*The 13th District.* By Brand Whitlock. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.

*Drewitt's Dream.* By W. L. Alden. D. Appleton & Co.

*The Making of a Statesman.* By Joel Chandler Harris. McClure, Phillips & Co.

The beauty of Mr. Henry Harland's story, 'The Lady Paramount,' is at once obvious and subtle, altogether satisfying. Any one may enjoy it who has an openness to the happy exhilaration that comes with fine weather, gurgling brooks, singing birds, all the fresh loveliness that accompanies the miracle of spring. The simple love story of Susanna, Countess of Sampaolo, all exquisitely embroidered, charms the senses like music conceived in a spirit of joy, expressed in elaborate harmonies. This, for the average reader, indifferent to the means by which literary effects are wrought. To the informed and critical the book yields more. It is the work of an accomplished artist whose material is a cosmopolitan experience. It is a finished expression, not of the art of representing people and things as they are, but as they might be, might beautifully be. Novelists are not very often born in the ranks of a great aristocracy, nor does their breeding or experience often lead to a successful assumption of intimacy with the exalted. Of the vulgarities and absurdities into which such assumption may betray them, "Ouida" in her heyday was a dreadful example. On the face of things, Mr. Harland seems to inherit Ouida's adoration for an aristocracy *qua* aristocracy, to be under the spell of an Old World glory. His men and women (supremely women) exhale perfection, slow accumulation of centuries of privilege. The physical na-